## Message Text

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FOR HIRSCH

FOLLOWING REPEAT TEL AVIV 3174 ACTION SECSTATE INFO AMMAN CAIRO DAMASCUS LONDON JIDDA USUN JERUSALEM DATED MAY 06:

QTE: CONFIDENTIAL TEL AVIV 3174

E.O. 11652: GDS

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SUBJECT: ALLON'S REMARKS TO NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY

1.IN A MEETING MAY 5 WITH STUDENTS FROM THE NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY, FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON PRESENTED HIMSELF AS A MINISTER WHO WAS TRYING TO SEE PROBLEMS IN THE MIDDLE EAST FROM BOTH SIDES AND WAS SPEAKING TO FRIENDS WITH WHOM HE MAYDISAGREE ON CERTAIN THINGS. HE SAID TWO PREMISES MUST BE ACCEPTED IN ORDER TO HAVE MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS: THE NECESSITY THAT ANY PEACE AGREEMENT BE BASED ON COMPROMISE AND THE IMPORTANCE OF A STRONG AND DEMOCRATIC ISRAEL TO ITS FRIENDS ABROAD.

2. ALLON THEN REPEATED MANY OF THE ARGUMENTS WHICH ARE FAMILIAR TO US: THE IMPORTANCE OF TERRAIN AND CONFIDENTIAL

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TOPOGRAPHY; THE NEED TO NEGOTIATE A PEACE SETTLE-MENT, NOT FOR THREE OR FOUR YEARS, BUT FOR GENERATIONS; THE NECESSITY OF TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE INTERESTS OF THE PALESTINIANS; AND THE POSSIBLE ROLE OF EARLY WARNING SYSTEMS AND INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS WHICH MUST BE SUPPLEMENTARY TO AND NOT IN PLACE OF DEFENSIBLE BORDERS.

- 3. THEN, IN A PRESENTATION SOMEWHAT DIFFERENT THAN WE HAVE HEARD PREVIOUSLY, HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT THE MIDDLE EAST SHOULD NOT BE VIEWED AS AN ISOLATED PROBLEM AND THAT ITS AFFIARS ARE INTER-RELATED WITH THOSE OF EUROPE AND AFICA. HE SAID HE WAS VERY DIS-TURBED ABOUT EVENTS IN AFRICA, PARTICULARLY IN ZAIRE AND THE HORN, AND FELT THOSE EVENTS COULD EFFECT THE MIDDLE EAST.HE WAS GOLAD TO SEE PRESIDENT SADAT'S AWARENESS OF THE POSSIBLE IMPLICATIONS OF EVENTS IN ZAIRE AND ANGOLA BECAUSE EGYPT AND ISRAEL SHARE A COMMON INTEREST IN MIDDLE EAST STABILITY. ISRAEL'S NEIGHBORS KNOW THEIR BORDERS WITH ISRAEL ARE SAFE AND THEY CAN TURN THEIR ATTENTION TO OTHER PROBLEMS WITHOUT DANGER FROM ISRAEL: IN THAT CONNECTION HE NOTED THAT THE PLO IS A GREATER THREAT TO REGIMES SUCH AS THOSE IN JORDAN AND SAUDI ARABIA THAN IT IS TO ISRAEL: "WE CAN HANDLE THE PLO."
- 4. ALLON THAN SAID HE WAS GRATEFUL FOR CONTINUING U.S. ASSISTANCE, ADDING HIS FAMILIAR PITCH THAT ISRAEL CONTRIBUTES AS MUCH AS IT RECEIVES AND THAT U.S.AID IS A GOOD INVESTMENT (FOR THE U.S.).
- 5. IN A QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION, THE FOREIGN MINISTER ANSWERED QUESTIONS ABOUT CHINA, THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE, JERUSALEM (IT NEED NOT BE A MAJOR PROBLEM, IT WAS NEVER THE CAPITAL OF ANY STATE EXCEPT THE JEWISH STATE, ISRAEL IS AWARE OF ITS UNIVERSAL IMCONFIDENTIAL

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PORTANCE, THERE SHOULD BE A RELIGIOUS SOLUTION GIVING RELIGIOUS BODIES CONTROL OVER THE HOLY PLACES. THERE COULD BE A SYSTEM OF BOROUGHS HAVING A DEGREE OF AUTONOMY AND A SINGLE MAYOR, BUT JERUSALEM WOULD RE-MAIN THE CAPITAL OF ISRAEL), THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF ISRAEL, SOUTHERN AFRICA, THE ROLE OF U.N. FORCES (THEY CAN HELP MAINTAIN AN AGREEMENT IF THE PARTIES WISH IT TO BE MAINTAINED BUT THEY ANNOT REPLACE A BALANCE OF STRENGTH BETWEEN THE PARTIES, AND THE POSSIBILITY OF JOINT ARAB/ISRAELI UNITS SHOULD NOT BE OVERLOIKED), PEACE AND NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS, AND THE LESSONS OF 1973 (EFFECTIVE U.S. INTERVENTION EXCLUDED THE SOVIET UNION BUT THE U.S. MUST NOW MAINTAIN ITS EVEN-HANDED ROLE AS AN HONEST BROKER BY PERSUADING THE PARTIES TO MEET EACHOTHER HALF WAY AND TO COMPROMISE EQUALLY).

6. SUMMING UP, ALLON SAID ISRAEL WILL COMPROMISE

WHEN IT CAN WITHOUT PRESSURE, BUT WILL NOT COMPROMISE ON ISSUES WHERE IT CANNOT, EVEN UNDER THE MOST EXTREME PRESSURE. ISRAEL CANNOT DEPEND ONFOREIGN TROOPS (ALTHOUGH FOREIGN ASSISTANCE IS WELCOME AND NECESSARY) BUT MUST BE ABLE TO DEFEND ITSELF, BY ITSEL, FOR ITSELF. EGYPT MUST BE MADE AWARE THAT IN CANNOT EXPECT THE U.S. TO EXERT PRESSURE ON ISRAEL AND WHEN IT IS AWARE OF THAT,IT WILL BE MORE REALISTIC. HE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED A GENEVA CONFERENCE NEXT YEAR BUT IF IT IS HELD THIS YEAR, ISRAEL WILL BE PREPARED TO GO AND WILL COOPERATE FULLY IN THE PREPARATIONS.

DUNNIGAN UNQTE CHRISTOPHER

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